

NEW MILITANT

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Mooney Wins New Hearing

State Confesses to Destruction of Evidence

SAN FRANCISCO.—The California state supreme court has consented to hear new testimony through a referee on Sept. 3 to prove that Tom Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he has spent 19 years in San Quentin prison.

The court made this concession when Mooney's attorneys, on behalf of the famous labor prisoner, asked a writ of habeas corpus.

Attorneys John Finerty of Washington, D. C., Frank P. Walsh of New York City, and George T. Davis of San Francisco unsuccessfully tried to force the court to produce Mooney for the hearing. The lawyers held that the court could not waive Mooney's right to be present, but the judges asserted that it is an unwritten law of the court that the petitioner does not have to appear personally in a habeas corpus proceeding.

"If, in the future, Mooney's presence is necessary, he will be brought here and all his rights safeguarded," Chief Justice Waste said.

Over strenuous protests of the three lawyers, the court refused to sit to hear the testimony. A special referee will be appointed for this purpose. Testimony will take three weeks, Mooney's attorneys asserted.

"This court, in light of its past rulings, is going to have to reverse itself to hear our evidence, and therefore the whole court should hear the case," Finerty contended.

State Destroys Evidence

The state, in effect, confessed that it had destroyed some of the most vital defense evidence. When Mooney's lawyers asked that the state be directed to bring to the September hearing the negatives of the pictures which showed Tom and Anna Mooney on a roof a mile from the scene of the crime, the answer came: "The negatives have disappeared."

During the arguments before the court, Atty.-Gen. William Cleary reiterated former statements to the effect that the state will oppose Mooney's release even if perjury is proven.

"Mooney must prove not only perjury, but that it was committed with the knowledge and connivance of the state officials," was Cleary's assertion.

Finerty jumped to his feet with the statement:

"Two years ago, in Mooney's trial on an indictment remaining against him, Matthew Brady, district attorney of San Francisco, admitted the witnesses in Mooney's first trial had been impeached as perjurers. For the state to admit that it was not bound by that admission will bring down upon the attorney general of California another castigation at the hands of the U. S. Supreme Court."

Finerty and his associates said that they have 18 witnesses to give testimony. Two of the most important witnesses are seriously ill, and will testify only through depositions. They are John McDonald, waiter, who has admitted he perjured himself when he placed Mooney at the scene of the 1916 bombing, and F. E. Rigall, who can prove that Frank Oxman, now dead, who was one of the main witnesses against Mooney and Billings, perjured himself.

Wagner Bill Ignored in Akron

AKRON, Ohio, July 8.—Enactment of the Wagner strike-breaking labor disputes bill provoked little attention among rubberworkers here, even conservatives realized it was but a futile gesture of the government to pretend having an interest in labor's welfare.

Strong company unions at Goodrich, Goodyear and Firestone continued to exist without a murmur of protest from the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Meanwhile uncertainty was evident among union workers over progress towards establishing an international union as Washington A. F. of L. headquarters withheld word, for no apparent reason, of a convention call.

Old Guard Pounds Militants As Socialist Party N.C. Meets

Right Wing Riding High; National "Militant" Caucus Breaks; Hoan with Waldman; Thomas Attacks Left

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party is convening for its quarterly meeting in New York, July 13-15.

The most important point on its agenda is the report of the "Committee of Inquiry and Mediation," appointed at the last meeting to solve the internecine struggle in New York City.

The N.E.C. is exiled to the Bronx or Queens, the City Central Committee, under control of the right wing, having refused to act as host to their national leadership.

This meeting takes place one year after the national convention at Detroit, when the Milwaukee machine of Mayor Hoan, the "Chicago left," the New York "Militant" group, and Norman Thomas' followers made a horse-trading combination which captured the N.E.C. The theoretical excuse for this capture of power was the passage of a Declaration of Principles which, couched in deliberately ambiguous phraseology, enabled the "Militants" to claim it was a "revolutionary document," while Norman Thomas and Dan Hoan could assert it was traditional socialism.

Old Guard Position Clear

The Old Guard will have no centrist ambiguities, but demands a frank avowal of unshaken loyalty to the capitalist state and its democracy. The Old Guard served notice at Detroit of war to the death against the Declaration and has carried on its fight with principled intransigence, refusing to accept any of the compromises offered it by the N.E.C. Systematic expulsions of left wingers, in New York and upstate; lifting of charters of anti-Old Guard locals long enough to secure a majority of the City Central Committee; forcible expulsion of the New York branches of the Young Peoples Socialist League from their headquarters in the Island School and the organization of a rival youth organization under Old Guard leadership; systematic onslaughts in the Forward and the New Leader; alliance with the most corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucrats to put pressure on the N.E.C. (the United Hebrew Trades, for example, passing a resolution denouncing the Declaration of Principles); organization of inter-state conferences of Old Guard state organizations to set up programs in competition with the N.E.C.—in these and a hundred other ways the Old Guard has hammered away, like a battering ram, against their opponents.

Under this steady barrage, their opponents have offered one shameful compromise after another, and when their proposals have been thrown back in their faces, have retreated still further. The Old Guard has given to the capitalist press a series of statements declaring they refuse to abide by the convention decision on the Declaration of Principles. When the convention decision was supplemented by a referendum which gave a majority for the Declaration, the Old Guard merely reiterated its stand.

The answer of Norman Thomas and Dan Hoan was . . . to propose to have the N.E.C. make changes in the Declaration! When, "after agreement was almost reached," as Norman Thomas recently revealed, the Old Guard refused to compromise and continued to violate the party's principles, Thomas and Hoan decided to act. They . . . appointed a committee to consider suggestions of changes well in advance of the next convention of the Party so that the matter may be adjusted with as little dispute as possible" (Thomas)!

Then, at the last meeting of the N.E.C. instead of carrying on a struggle against the Old Guard, they appointed a committee to mediate between the slugging Old Guard and the battered fol-

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Heavy Prison Terms Given to Group of Polish "Trotskyites"

GENEVA (I.C.L.).—Information has just been received here that at the beginning of the month of May, nine persons, accused of belonging to the "Trotskyist" organization, were brought to trial in Warsaw. Without any proofs submitted, they were condemned to especially severe prison terms: one woman to five years in prison, three of the accused to four years, and three to three years each.

The attorney general of the republic, in his act of indictment, dwelled on the character of "Trotskyism" which he described as much more dangerous than official communism which merely wants to "defend the U.S.S.R.," whereas the "Trotskyists" "aim at inflaming the entire world." It's above all on this point that the big press dwelled in its court reports.

Workers' Security Bill Drafted By Nat'l Unemployed League

A BILL To limit the hours of labor, to provide additional appropriations for public works, and for the relief of the unemployed and to establish a system of unemployment and social insurance.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the maximum hours of labor of those employed by the government of the United States, state, county, municipal and other governmental units in the United States and of those employed for wages by an employer in industry, mining, transportation, agriculture, domestic, technical, clerical and professional service, and all other occupations, shall be 30 hours per week.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted that the sum of 10 billion dollars be appropriated for the purpose of carrying forward a program of public works.

(1) The monies available or to be appropriated for the purposes of this bill shall be expended within one year from the date of its enactment.

(2) The objects for which the money available or to be appropriated under this act shall be spent shall be the provision of modern low rental homes; an up to date, fully equipped county hospital in every county; modern libraries and recreational centers in every city and county; rural electrification; and elimination of grade crossings.

(3) No monies available or to be appropriated under this act shall be spent for military or naval purposes.

(4) The hours of labor under all projects established under this bill shall be not more than 30 per week.

(5) The compensation of all those employed under the provisions of this act shall be not less than \$30.00 per week and the prevailing union rate of wages wherever said rate exceeds \$30.00 per week.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted that the Secretary of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of unemployment and social insurance for the purpose of providing insurance for all workers and farmers unemployed through no fault of their own in amounts equal to average local wages. Such insurance shall be administered by workers and farmers and controlled by them under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor in conformity with the purposes and provisions of this Act, through unemployment insurance commissions composed of the rank and file members of workers' and farmers' organizations. Funds for such insurance shall hereafter be provided at the expense of the Government and of employers, and it is the sense of Congress that funds to be raised by the Government shall be secured by taxing inheritance and gifts, and by taxing individual and corporate incomes of \$5,000 per year and over. No tax or contribution in any form shall be levied on workers for the purposes of this Act. In no case shall the unemployment insurance be less than \$10 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

The benefits of this Act shall be (Continued on Page 2)

U. S. Aids Terror of Mendieta

Brutal Regime Slays and Jails Scores of Workers

Right on the heels of the deportation of the liberal U. S. delegation from Cuba comes the sensational report, printed herewith, of assassination, wholesale arrests and horrible persecution of workers and revolutionists by the militarist regime of Cuba. This reactionary clique, emulating "Butcher" Machado, has suppressed all trade union and political organizations and prohibited the right of free speech, press and assembly. This terror proceeds with the open support of the Roosevelt Administration through its Ambassador Jefferson Caffery.—Ed. * * *

By R. S. DE LA TORRE

The proletariat of Cuba is today confronted with a situation in many ways similar although more difficult than in other colonial or imperialist countries. The government of Mendieta which rose to power under the pressure of the United States Ambassador, Jefferson Caffery, has been converted into a most efficient instrument of imperialist oppression. In order to accomplish this destructive mission against the aspirations of the oppressed masses, the government has organized the largest oppressive machinery ever known in Cuba, under the leadership of Batista, commander of the army. It extends over every inch of the country, from the large cities to the most remote sugar plantations.

The army of Cuba (a country that has no national frontiers) reaches the exorbitant numbers of 18,000 soldiers, with a budget of \$18,000,000 which is in effect a greater expenditure per soldier than any country in either Europe or America. To this we have to add a few thousand more technical and secret intelligence service men, devoted exclusively to political persecution of all those persons and organizations opposed to the government. Apart from this there is the urban police, controlled by the municipal government, which is a mere department of the general staff of the army, cooperating loyally in the persecution of all the oppositionists. As a general rule, the soldiers as well as the police, are recruited from the most degenerated social strata, from the lumpen proletariat of the cities and the hungry peons of the countryside. They are paid very generously and given all kinds of privileges, thus assuring their unconditional submission to the government.

In order to round out the oppressive apparatus, directed essentially against the working class, they have created Emergency Tribunals, which judge all matters of a political nature. These tribunals have (Continued on Page 3)

Workers Party of U. S. New York City Comrade:

We have finally become convinced after due and careful investigation and mature consideration of all the facts that the Communist Party of the United States, and the Third International dominated and constituted as it is now, cannot and will not organize and lead the workers of this country or the world, for or to the seizure of power and the building of socialism on an international basis. Another vanguard party of the proletariat must be organized and built by the workers and farmers of this country.

For that task, and we are convinced after careful and mature consideration, that the Workers Party of the U. S., already organized by honest and capable revolutionists, and now functioning, is such a vanguard party of the working class, that can and will organize and lead the workers of America for the seizure of power and the building of Socialism on an international basis. And being fully convinced of the necessity of the establishment of the Fourth International to organize and lead the workers of the world on an inter-

national basis, as advocated by the Workers Party and other groups of revolutionists in other countries with which it is affiliated, we withdrew our membership in and severed our connections with the Communist party, U.S.A., section of the Communist International, and submit our application for membership in the Workers Party of the U. S., and agree to submit to its discipline and to support the party to the best of our abilities. We call upon all honest and sincere revolutionists to follow our example.

We feel that we owe it to our former comrades and associates in the C.P.U.S. to state frankly, that we arrived at the decision stated above, after due and careful investigation and mature consideration, being fully aware of the implications and results. This decision is based upon the open and plain repudiation and betrayal of the world revolution, of internationalism by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. under the domination of the Stalin leadership and bureaucracy. . . .

Then follows a condemnation of the ruinous theory of "Socialism in one country," and its destructive results throughout the world—from China through to Germany and culminating with the Stalin-Laval communique. It concludes with the following statement:

"These successive acts of betrayal by the Third International and the C. P. of the Soviet Union, forces the necessity and justification for the steps we have taken."

CHARLES E. TAYLOR
ASHBEL INGERSON
MARY INGERSON

Powers Yield to Italy's Aggression in Ethiopia

Shall Ethiopia Perish?

Against Italian Fascism, Negroes Are Fighting Battle of World Proletariat

The devouring flames of war are burning on two continents. In Northern Asia, the troops of Japanese imperialism continue their relentless drive to the west and the south in order to assuage the ruling caste's rapacious appetite for an empire in Siberia and China. Afraid of bringing to its feet a powerful people's movement that might mean its own end, the pitiable Chinese bourgeoisie dampens the ardor of resistance of the masses and retreats precipitately before the Japanese invader.

And now the plains and mountainsides of Ethiopia are being approached as the scene of the Fascist war upon the last of even semi-independent countries on the African continent. Tens of thousands of Mussolini's troops, equipped with the most modern machinery of warfare, are on the march against the Ethiopians, determined to subdue them as once Eritrea and Somaliland were subdued—to accomplish now with the Fascist legions what they failed to do in the war upon Abyssinia towards the end of the last century.

The invasion is now generally recognized as inevitable. All talk about conciliation, about a peaceable settlement of the dispute, has been nothing more—it is now clear—than so much verbiage behind which Mussolini was taking all the measures necessary to dispatch to Africa an army which, when it reaches its full strength, will number some 200,000 men. From the Netherlands comes the official announcement that the Italo-Ethiopian Conciliation Commission has finally decided to adjourn its sessions indefinitely, after having met for two weeks, without coming to a conclusion. The whole matter is now referred to . . . the League of Nations.

And the League of Nations? What is to be expected from this "great instrument for peace"? Approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the war in the Gran Chaco; approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the appeal of ravished China against the brutal invasion by Japan.

For years the League of Nations has been advertised to the world as the only, "even if not entirely satisfactory" agency for the preservation of world peace. Each time it encountered a situation which brought new discredit upon it, it took care to take some new action which would restore its failing credit in the eyes of the masses. For a time, the assembled imperialist bandits covered their bristling armor with the solemn pledges of the Kellogg Pact which "renounced" aggression as an instrument of national policy. Where is the Kellogg Pact today—the pact to which both Italy and Ethiopia were signatories? A scrap of paper, a fraud, a deception (Continued on Page 4)

3 Leading Members of North Dakota C.P. Resign; Join W.P.

Fresh evidence of the revulsion of revolutionary workers to the latest acts of treachery by the Stalin bureaucracy is contained in the statement of resignation of three leading militants in the North Dakota District from the Communist Party. Excerpts from their statement quitting the C. P. and joining the Workers Party are printed below.—Ed.

Flaxton, N. D.
Workers Party of U. S.
New York City
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Il Duce Moves For Conquest In September

'White Man's Burden' Alibi for Fascist Exploitation

By MARTIN A. GLEE

The situation with regard Ethiopia grows more tense daily. Whereas it could be stated a few days ago that Italy's penetration into the kingdom of the Negus would not start until October; today reliable reports have it that operations will more than likely begin a month sooner.

As the usually well-informed Mr. Frederick T. Birchall of the London bureau of the Times puts it:

"The last hope of averting a military attack by Italy upon Ethiopia faded out today." His reference is to the fact that the meeting of the conciliation commission appointed by the League of Nations broke up when the Italian delegation refused so much as to listen to the statements of the Ethiopian delegate who insisted on establishing the fact that Ual Ual, the scene of the first clash, was within Ethiopian territory.

Il Duce Ready for Action

So far as Italy is concerned the negotiations are over and dead. Il Duce is now completely occupied with the strengthening of his forces in Africa, building his army up to about 250,000 (already about 150,000 Italian soldiers are encamped in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland). Moreover, Italy is compelled to prepare a sufficient water supply for drinking purposes, provision its African commissaries with food and medical supplies and continue road improvements for military purposes. For this she is compelled to wait a month or two longer. Besides, the rainy season will not begin subsiding until the early fall.

All of which means that Italy is prepared to strike now. The reply of Washington to the Ethiopian note was grist to Mussolini's mill. The apparent change of front on the part of England, in reconciling herself to the Italian adventure, can possibly be explained by the fact that Italy has assured Great Britain that it will not defect the waters of Lake Tsana toward its own territory and that it is ready to assume treaty obligations to that effect.

Wants Only a "Crumb"

Italy will probably attempt to connect its colonies bounding Ethiopia on the north and south by building a railroad and highway across the Ethiopian kingdom. This will greatly facilitate Mussolini's "civilizing" invaders reaching the capital, Addis Ababa, and taking complete control. Few more callous exhibitions of imperialistic methods of conquest could be cited unless one were to go back to the Boer War. One of the jingoes for the Italian Fascist press puts it neatly and unapologetically when he declares that "justice would require Britain, possessing the world's greatest colonial empire, to stand aside when Italy attempts to obtain a small crumb left over from Britain's gargantuan meal."

The "small crumb" is Ethiopia. Despite the hypocritical talk of Washington that it expects the matter to be ironed out between the parties involved and that it sees no cause for alarm, Cornelius Van H. Engert, a shrewd expert of U. S. imperialism in the Far East has been shipped from his post in Egypt to become Charge d'Affaires and Consul General at Addis Ababa.

The question of Ethiopia comes up in the next day or two in the House of Commons in London. France is still standing by Italy. Germany and Japan look on with hawk-like attention.

The backward colonial country of Ethiopia stands like a sparrow with clipped wings surrounded by hungry cats on all sides and its one friend whom it has a right to rely on, the Soviet Union, does nothing because of a conservative bureaucracy at its top. Litvinov, in the League of Nations, remains silent!

EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT FIRST STEP TO DAILY

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Relief . . .

An FERA survey of Baltimore's 1550,000 unemployed showed only 8 cas. s where people refused to work "without legitimate reason," this phrase applying to men who refused to scab and to those who refused to work at less than union rates. . . . An ad for a salesgirl in a New York evening paper attracted 1,000 applicants by 6 A.M. the following morning. By 9 o'clock the crowd was so dense that the plate glass store front gave way. . . . Berry growers complain that the unemployed will not go to work. In North Carolina the highest average net earning of berry pickers is 35c a day. Workers are quartered in barns in most cases entirely lacking in sanitary facilities, twenty persons eating and sleeping in one room. . . . General Hugh Johnson, recently appointed relief administrator for New York City, states his views: "Whenever a worker gets a chance to take a private job, even if it pays less than he is getting on relief, he should be made to take the private job." . . . E. P. Hahburton, Oklahoma oil magnate, has banned from employment in his refinery anyone who has ever accepted relief. . . . In Oregon single men o relief are forced to live in camps and work on public projects for maintenance and one dollar a week spending money. . . . Sixty-five year old Callie Fancy, on relief in Little Rock, Ark., could not eat the canned beef provided her because she had no teeth. Relief officials found her a job with a dentist where she could "work out" a set of false teeth. . . . Using an "attitude test," Dr. E. A. Rundquist of Minneapolis found that the average person on relief felt no inferiority complex but that his economic position bred radicalism. . . .

Imperialism . . .

Mussolini's war with Abyssinia is scheduled to begin when the rainy season ends. Meanwhile he is collecting insults to justify it, "Italy needs room for expansion," says he. . . . In spite of every encouragement, Italy's birthrate has declined steadily during the past ten years. . . . Great Britain protests that health conditions in Liberia (literally a U.S. protectorate) are so bad that it is a source of infection for the rest of Africa. Monrovia, the capital, is overrun with rats and bubonic plague which is kept from spreading only because the city has no harbor. Government officials raid the interior for slaves which they sell to Spanish and French provinces. Harvey Firestone gave the nation a brief period of prosperity by hiring natives at 25c a week on his rubber plantations. . . . The United States Senate passed a bill which makes it illegal to pursue, shoot, shoot at, kill, capture, trap, collect or otherwise willfully molest or disturb the American Eagle. . . .

Patriotism . . .

In the Revolutionary War 4,044 Americans lost their lives; 4,290 people were killed celebrating the Fourth of July in the last 30 years. . . . The Illinois Senate Committee investigating allegations that students at the University of Chicago were subjected to subversive teachings dismissed the charges but accused Prof. Robert Morse Lovett of being "unloyal to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States" because he engaged in activities in defense of civil liberties. His only son was killed in the battle of Belleau Wood. . . . Chicago newspapers were filled with reports of the investigation which was inspired by Walgreen, the druggist. Not a word was said about Court Case 22585 against the Walgreen Drug Co. for adulterating medicines and tonics. The company was found guilty. . . .

Commerce & Industry . . .

To boost trade the British Association of Cotton Manufacturers announced at a trade luncheon that the Prince of Wales wears cotton underwear. Wool manufacturers countered with the information that King George wears "woolies" bought by Queen Mary. . . . California prunes are graded according to the following sizes: medium, large, extra large, mammoth, giant, jumbo, colossal, and super-colossal. . . . Cheese manufacturers in Wisconsin were successful in obtaining a law requiring two thirds of an ounce of cheese to be served with every 25c meal. . . . Maxwell Stewart, Associate Editor of The Nation, was arrested for picketing the office of The American Mercury in protest to the refusal of officials to grant collective bargaining to employees. . . . The current issue of The Nation carries a full page ad offering the two magazines clubbed at a bargain price. . . .

Sunday, July 14 — Beach Party, Boro Park Branch. Meet at the 1st Aid Station on Ocean Parkway at 11 A.M. sharp. All comrades invited.

Stalinists Go to Bat for Priest

Chicago C.P. Makes Touching Plea for Coughlin

By F. X. FERRY

CHICAGO.—The workers of Chicago who were greatly interested in following the contortions and zig-zags which up to the present time represent the policy of the 8th District of the Communist Party and who saw many surprising things perpetrated under the flag of Stalinism—even those were surprised when the bourgeois press of July 2 headlined in black letters "Red Party Joins Coughlin's Suit." The workers shared the surprise of the bourgeois press which pointed out ironically in the Chicago Tribune, the Daily News and the Daily Times that the Communist Party of America sought to join in a lawsuit on behalf of Coughlin against the Chicago Park Board.

The story began when Attorney Samuel Ettelson, former Insull attorney and the former city attorney of Chicago during the administration of the famous "America first" Mayor Thompson, filed a suit in the Superior Court of Cook County on behalf of the Detroit priest, Coughlin, and of his organization "Union for Social Justice," asking that the Chicago Park Board be ordered to rent the Stadium, or as it is known, the Soldiers Field to Coughlin for the purpose of holding a public meeting.

C. P. "Enforces the Constitution" The point of view of the park board was that the Stadium is not to be rented for the purpose of holding controversial meetings, be they on political or economic questions. They pointed out that the field is to be used for sport and general educational purposes as singing festivals, etc. The hearings in the court were continued a number of times after certain technical points were decided and after a petition of the Huey Long faction and of his "Share the Wealth Club" for permission to intervene on behalf of Coughlin was denied.

On July 2, the Chicago Tribune reported "Reds Offer Aid in Fr. Coughlin's Fight for Field" and that formal notice was served on Coughlin's attorney and on the counsel for the Park Commissioners that the "Communist Party of the United States of America" will ask permission of Judge James Joseph Kelly to file an intervening petition in the case. The Chicago Tribune obtained some information on the matter from the attorney representing the Communist Party to whom the vicious bourgeois paper refers to as "the mouthpiece of the Reds" and who identified his clients as "having an organization in Illinois and a headquarters in Chicago" and described the organization as follows: "The Communist Party of the United States of America is an organization made up of workers, industrial and agricultural, small farmers, professionals, intellectuals and such other sections of the population who are opposed to exploitation of the toiling workers by a handful of the rich."

The C. P. attorney assured the Chicago Tribune that "his friends and associates really are hostile to father Coughlin for a number of reasons," but nevertheless, as he stated in his petition, "we are interested in the performance by public officers of their official duties and in the enforcement of the Constitution and laws protecting public rights."

A "Fascist Attack" on Coughlin Of course, it is very hard to say whether the Communist Party of the United States actually identifies itself with the petition presented on its behalf by its attorney, but if it does, it is more than interesting for the workers to know that the attorney for the Communist Party states that "many Communist workers would like to hear Father Coughlin, not only to listen to him, but to expose his anti-workingmen ideas." It is undoubtedly true that Coughlin will appreciate the help extended to him by the C. P. in obtaining working-class and more particularly Communist working-class audiences in which to peddle his stuff.

To be sure, the attorney for the C. P. becomes also theoretical in support of his petition in which they support the prayer of Father Coughlin that the court should give him the right of using the Soldiers Field for a public meeting because it is stated that "any denial of the use of Soldiers Field is in itself a Fascist attack against the right of freedom of speech and assembly of citizens and workers."

Apparently the C. P. has a new theory concerning Fascism somewhat similar but not quite as clear as that concerning Social-Fascism, because now they believe, at least in their intervening petition in Chicago, that the duty of the workers

in general and the C. P. of the U. S. in particular is to prevent the advance of Fascism, and for that end to fight for Father Coughlin's right to obtain a public meeting place where he may expound his views which up to the present was characterized by the C. P. as nothing else but potential fascism if not clear fascism.

In Black on White

Many of the workers of Chicago when reading the bourgeois Daily News wondered how it happened that the "Communist Party sought leave to file an intervening petition in Coughlin's behalf" — an ironical note in view of the priests attack on Communism. Judge Kelly attempted, unbeknown to himself, to save the C. P. from the embarrassment of being recorded in the court files when he first denied leave to the C. P. to intervene, telling the lawyer representing the C. P. that he was too late. Later, however, the court relented and permitted the attorney to file an appearance in the case; and thus the historical finger, warning the C. P. to keep out, at least from the written records, was not observed. The C.P. of the U.S. is on record in the Superior Court of Cook County under No. 358 8879, as an intervening petitioner in which they joined with Coughlin in asking the Court that the Park Commissioners be ordered to rent Soldiers Field to the priest whom the C. P. labelled the "Radio Hitler of the United States."

Of course, it may be that Earl Browder does not know anything about Chicago, but there is no question about it that some of the big lights must have been informed since the political genius of the C. P., Bob Minor, was seen around headquarters on the first day of July, that is, one day before the petition was filed.

The workers have seen the C. P. in action more than once and they have seen it going through a whole series of united front tactics so there is no justification for any follower of the C. P. to be very much surprised. They may feel satisfied that the theory of "Social-Fascism," the "united front from below" and the latest help extended to Father Coughlin is undoubtedly not cut of line with the circus which they performed together with Father Divine (Father Divine is God), and it is surely not out of line with the fragile role which the C. P. of Germany played in the famous referendum when they joined, if not in force at least in efforts, with the Hitlerites to oust the Socialist government of Prussia.

The Color Line in the A. F. of L. The Negro & American Labor

Discrimination against Negroes in the American Federation of Labor has always represented one of the most ignominious features in the organized labor movement of this country.

At the convention of the A. F. of L. held in San Francisco last October Pres. A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters raised the question of discrimination for discussion among the assembled delegates. It might be interesting to observe that Negroes picketing the convention for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were arrested.

Randolph's resolution called for the expulsion of "any union which violates the constitution of the A. F. of L. by maintaining the color line." It might be pointed out, here, that despite his "radical" gesture at the convention it is well known that Randolph has worked hand-in-glove with Green and Co., who have tacitly condoned race discrimination in A. F. of L. unions. After hearing the resolution the committee on organization recommended non-concurrence, but a loud chorus of "NO" greeted the recommendation. Fearing a show of hands, Pres. W. L. Hutchinson of the Carpenters union quickly introduced an amendment calling on William Green to appoint an investigating committee to report on the whole matter to the next convention. After some debate this amendment was finally adopted. Chairman of the committee on the Negro question is John E. Rooney of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Assn. The secretary is John Brophy of the United Mine Workers of America.

No Negro on Committee

The other three members of the committee are John W. Garvey, International Hod Carriers; Jerry L. Hanks, Journeymen Barbers and T. C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Maintenance of War Employees. It is again interesting to note that the one concerned most in that he brought the question up at all for discussion, Randolph of the Sleeping Car Brotherhood is not on the committee.

At the hearing held July 9, Randolph reiterated his plea for the necessity of disciplining international unions if they maintain the color bar. Reginald J. Johnson of the National Urban League warned that "dual unions, company unions and anti-A. F. of L. unions among Negroes would take shape unless the policy of discrimination were discontinued."

One or two preliminary meetings of the committee have been held but a hearing will finally take place in Washington sometime in July of this year where Randolph and others will present their case.

A number of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. absolutely deny membership to Negroes by constitutional provisions. Others exclude them by various rituals which pledge members of the union not to bring up a Negro for membership. Still others, having no outright provisions excluding Negroes, yet in practice see to it that few if any are admitted. In still other unions the Jim Crow system of Negro locals prevails.

It is of some merit here to cite same example of crass discrimination against Negroes in A. F. of L. unions and of the policy of evasion if not outright chauvinism of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. We quote at length from the 25th annual report of the N.A.A.C.P.:

Outright Discrimination

"On October 31 the attention of President Green was called to the complaints of discrimination against Negro members of Local 306, Motion Picture Operators of New York City, as to hours of work, general working conditions, rates of pay and restriction of locality of work to the colored section of Manhattan. It was pointed out that the employment of Negro union operators was restricted to theatres patronized principally by Negroes and that they were not permitted to work in circuit houses; that they were being forced to accept working conditions and wages unacceptable elsewhere within the union's jurisdiction and in violation of the NRA code. The A. F. of L. was asked to promptly correct these abuses. Late in November President Green replied that it was impossible to interfere in the internal affairs of affiliated national or international unions except upon their consent, and referred the Association to the

President of the International Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators, thus continuing the familiar policy of evasion."

Below we cite another example of discrimination against Negroes as brought out by Mr. Johnson at the hearing and culled from the New York Times, July 9, 1935:

"Negroes who tried to enter a local of the painters' union in Atlanta, according to Mr. Johnson, were told that their leader was a Communist. They withdrew the leader and then again applied. This time, he said, they were informed by the District Council of the Painters' Unions that the hod-carriers were forming a union and that their members should apply to that organization."

"The applicants responded that they were skilled painters and not hod-carriers. Then the secretary of the International Painters Brotherhood suggested that they send the usual \$15 fee to accompany the request for a local union charter. This they did and a charter was refused, the witness explained."

N.U.L. Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

extended to workers and farmers without discrimination because of age, sex, race, or color, religious or political opinion, or affiliation, whether they be industrial, agricultural, domestic, or professional workers, for all time lost. No worker shall be disqualified from the benefits of this Act because of refusal to work in place of strikers, at less than normal or trade union rates, under unsafe or unsanitary conditions, or where hours are longer than the prevailing union standards at the particular trade and locality, or at any unreasonable distance from home.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted that pending the establishment of the system of unemployment insurance provided for under this Act, Congress shall authorize to be appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of 5 billion dollars to provide for all the unemployed cash relief at the rate of not less than \$10 per week for each unemployed worker or farmer, and \$3 additional for each dependent.

WOOSTER, Ohio.—A dramatic five-minute strike of thirty telephone operators of the Ohio Bell Telephone Co. office here won them a ten percent pay increase—their main objective.

Coast Dockers Defy Ryan at I.L.A. Meeting

Propose Progressive Measures; Wants New Leadership

The convention of the International Longshoremen's Association held this week in New York promises to have some stormy sessions if advance indications can serve as a measure of judgment.

Since the upswing in business such conflicts have found increasing manifestations in numerous A. F. of L. unions. In the longshoremen's union it is particularly advanced. There is a fairly distinct division of right and left, the former represented in the main by the international officials and their supporters and the latter by the Pacific Coast delegation headed by Harry Bridges.

West Coast Against Ryan

This delegation declares openly that it has come to the convention instructed by the West Coast membership to oust the president, Joseph Ryan and to fight for a new leadership. This course of action is based on direct experiences, dating back to the Pacific Coast maritime strike and the San Francisco general strike of last year. Ryan took some flying trips to the coast, not to support the strike but to connive with the employers and to break it up.

A high sense of solidarity has prevailed ever since. The popularity of Bridges is attested by the fact that in the elections of delegates to the international convention he snowed under his conservative opponent by a vote of 1,759 to 129.

But the greatest gain scored by the Pacific Coast longshoremen since their famous strike is undoubtedly expressed in the creation of the waterfront federation extending through all the ports from Seattle to San Diego. It comprises the unions of all the waterfront workers.

The Pacific Coast delegation proposes that the convention adopt this form of organization in all ports. It proposes a national uniform agreement for all ports and joint control of hiring halls.

Russian Stalinist Emissaries Sent to France to Win Socialist Youth for Patriotism and against Marxism

INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of April the Young Socialists of France had the very doubtful pleasure of meeting two representatives of international Stalinism, Chemenodanov, Secretary of the Young Communist International and Kossarov, Secretary of the Russian Comsomols. Their trip to France had a decidedly reactionary aim. As is so clearly revealed in the report of the negotiations published below, they came to inject the virus of Stalinism into the young socialists, to line them up behind the General Staff of the French Army, to derail them from the track of revolution and to prepare the socialist youth to accept the fate of cannon fodder in the next war by advocating that their organization adopt a social-patriotic position. Thus Chemenodanov declares in the course of the negotiations: "IF WAR OCCURS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND YOU MAKE YOUR REVOLUTION, YOU WILL BE TRAITORS." This statement was made three weeks before the Stalin-Laval Communiqué!

Equally interesting is the first part of the conversation in which the young socialists evince a horror of the stifling internal regime of the Y.C.I. Any reference to recent history will show how barren is the statement that the Stalinists believe in discussion first before arriving at a decision.

The young socialists participating, Lissansky, Memeton, Ravier, and Fred Zeller, are leading militants in the Seine organization and members of the "Revolutionary Socialist Youth" group. It is interesting to note that a few days after these conversations took place Fred Zeller declared in the Seine District Committee of the young socialists on April 29: Up till now we were social democrats, they (the Bolshevik-Leninist group) Leninists. They were right in defending against us all the positions they believed correct." And on May 5, Lissansky said in part: "If we expelled them (the B-L) we would be submitting to the external influence of the Young Communists."—Ed.

a revolutionary basis; our aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat; we do not collaborate with the bourgeoisie. If there are factions, in whose interest do they struggle? those of the bourgeoisie or of the revolution? For us a faction weakens our ranks.

"What has happened in the Young Socialist International? In Sweden the Socialists are collaborating with the bourgeoisie in the government and are against the united front; similarly in Norway, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. One of the leaders of the Swedish Young Socialists, Valenken, said: 'If negotiations with the Young Communists are opened we will leave the Second International.' In Spain the Young Socialists have voted to withdraw from the reformist Socialist International and are for the united front; similarly in France and in Belgium (where the leaders are neither for nor against the united front; we cannot understand that). We believe that the French young socialists are acting in the interests of the young workers, contrary to the young Socialists of Sweden. If we struggle for the united front we must exclude those who are against it; that is why we are against factions."

"Will you be expelled from your party? Possibly. In Argentina the Young Socialists were dissolved. In Belgium the leaders brought pressure to bear on Godefroy (leader of

your autonomy. You are twenty-five years behind the Germany of 1908. And once autonomy is obtained, what will you do? It is a little to soon to form an organization sympathetic to the Young Communist International. On the other hand it is not enough to confine yourself to the strengthening of the united front.

(At this point, Memeton raises the question of "National Defense" and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.)

Chemenodanov: As far as Russia is concerned I can say that we have made our revolution; but we want it on a world scale. . . . In present conditions your entrance into the Young Communist International would be complicated and inopportune. Practically, we must arrive at the point where the united front turns to action.

"WAR? IF WAR OCCURS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND YOU MAKE YOUR REVOLUTION, YOU WILL BE TRAITORS. A war provoked against the U.S.S.R. can be simultaneously directed against the U.S.S.R. and France; if there is such a war, it will be one of German fascism against communism. The comrades ask us: what must we do in that case? The revolution is not made on command; you will not make it today nor on the day of the mobilization because there will then no longer be any organizations. If war comes, the comrades must participate in it. German fascism is arming and preparing for war. How shall we struggle against it? By meetings? By gatherings? A hell of a lot! Fascism worries about that. Paper stays paper, whereas gases and airplanes are being manufactured. German fascism must find itself confronted with the countries who are struggling for peace: France and the U.S.S.R."

Ravier: For us, the enemy is international fascism, French and German. We do not believe, in any case, that the youth must follow their fascism against German fascism. If we allow our pre-fascist government to arm, then we allow the fascist morale to develop; our attitude must, of necessity, be clearly anti-militarist. If we allow the militarist spirit to develop, the revolution will no longer be possible. We cannot bind ourselves to our own imperialism under cover of defending the U.S.S.R. "The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself." Therefore, the workers must rise against their own fascism and thus assure the defense of the U.S.S.R. Zeller: Comrade Chemenodanov has

proposed that we leave the Second International and join in sympathetic capacity to the Third. They have the advantage over us of having triumphed. We understand their state of mind. If we do what they want, what will be our relation, exactly, with the Young Communist International? Will we be obliged to apply all its decisions or will we have a certain amount of independence? Will we have the possibility of forming factions? Our movement is young, we are organizing ourselves, we must first win over the Young Socialists and the Socialist Party; we have no other perspectives. Can we extricate ourselves from it now? That is impossible.

"What is the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.? For a long time it refused to join the League of Nations, that is, when there were revolutionary possibilities in Germany, in Austria and in Spain. On the other hand, the social democracy believed in the usefulness of the League of Nations: the Russians now have created a spirit of patriotism among the workers and they are obliged to utilize the contradictions between the imperialist states. I do not at all agree with Chemenodanov: we do not want to place ourselves under the orders of our bourgeoisie for the defense of the U.S.S.R."

Chemenodanov: The question of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has been discussed in the U.S.S.R. too; I am only giving you my personal opinion. But the Communists did not accept the united front because the U.S.S.R. needed it; the workers in every country need it. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. does not influence the course of the Party; the Young Communists have not abandoned the anti-militarist struggle, etc. If there is a war against the U.S.S.R. the workers will want to defend it and they will defend it arms in hand. In case of a struggle between Germany and Russia, the U.S.S.R. will be in no special danger; no country can withstand the Soviet Union; it will be a world war and the workers will all be on the side of the U.S.S.R."

Kossarev: The problem for revolutionists is the organization of the masses. The mistake many Young Socialists make is neglecting the struggle for the conquest of the unorganized youth, especially the Catholic; they are allowed to go their own way under the influence of the enemy. If we do not work among them, the enemy will. Peace is the aim of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., but besides it is also necessary to be able to maneuver for the purpose of utilizing existing contradictions; the bourgeoisie has good relations with us but we must not renounce the struggle against it.

Cuban Repressions Maintained with Aid of U.S.

Mendieta Regime Vies with Machado in Terror Record

Bolshevik-Leninists Among the Victims of Savage Government Attacks

(Continued from Page 1)

put into practice a series of laws of a fascist nature, such as the prohibition of strikes, trade unions, the suppression of working class propaganda. They have also prohibited the right of free speech, assembly, etc. These series of laws concocted by the Mendieta and Batista regime that do away with all democratic rights and puts the working class of Cuba into a position known only in countries of outright fascist nature.

The Emergency Tribunals have meted out sentences ranging from six months to ten years to members of the Bolshevik Leninist party, and have condemned militants of our trade unions for the only crime of having a union book on their person. At present we have about thirty comrades of the party, almost all of them outstanding political and trade union leaders, in prison. Together with the rank and file of our unions a total of nine hundred workers have been imprisoned. Of this number at least sixty are women. These figures refer only to the city of Havana.

Apart from those mentioned above hundreds of students and petty bourgeois revolutionists have been imprisoned. The conditions of repression are indubitably much more violent now than in the terrible years of the Machado dictatorship. Apart from imprisonment, the number of assassinated workers mounts daily.

The Strike

In the month of March the forces of the working class, united around the Committee of Proletarian Defense, under the influence of the leaders of the University of Havana, and under the pressure of the oppositionist petty bourgeois organizations, which have an appreciable influence on certain sections of the working class (street-car, railway, printers) embarked on a general political strike that was supported by almost all the state employees, paralyzing all the activities of the governmental offices.

Our party, conscious of the weak state of working class organization, centered all its forces on fortifying the previously established Committee of Proletarian Defense (the united front) so that the general strike would have a centralized leadership and would have a chance for victory. But in this proposal we found a clear opposition, on the one side from the Stalinist party, which, desiring to maintain its own hegemony, called the strike separately from the Committee, and from the other side—the leaders of the students and the petty-bourgeoisie who wanted to hurriedly precipitate the movement.

Under these conditions, the workers spontaneously, and under no centralized leadership, threw themselves into one of the most extraordinary strikes known in the history of the Cuban proletariat. They joined with the state employees in order to obtain for them security of their jobs (in Cuba every faction that takes power redivides the jobs by displacing the old employees.)

Martial Law

The government immediately mobilized all its machinery. A state of war was declared, thus putting into the hands of the military the power of judging of all acts of sabotage resulting from the strike. For three days complete terror reigned. All inhabitants were required to remain at home after nine o'clock. Even in broad daylight it was considered a criminal offense for more than two people to be seen walking together. The police and military hordes thronged the streets.

WORKERS

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and shot at strikers wherever they dared assemble. The headquarters of all working class organizations were raided, sacked and demolished. Our trade union center, the Havana Federation of Labor, was raided, all its furniture destroyed, its documents taken and all present were arrested and beaten. The government acknowledges a total of thirty dead, though in reality the number is much higher. Among the dead is our comrade Crescencio Freire, head of the baker's union, the student leader, Armando Feito and the leader of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, Enrique Fernandez, who was a member of Grau San Martin's cabinet. After the strike the military tribunal sentenced to death the young revolutionist, Jaime Greenstein, who was executed at Santiago de Cuba, and condemned to life imprisonment comrade Eduardo Galvez and others.

The strike, lacking a central leadership which the Bolshevik Leninist party tried to give it, couldn't resist the formidable attack of reaction, and ended in failure. Thousands of workers and thousands of public employees lost their jobs. The government decreed the dissolution of all trade unions and accelerated the sentencing of the arrested. All foreign militants were expelled from the country. The new public employees are forced to join the Military Reserves, assuring thereby their strict control by the government. The persecution becomes more intense daily. Our comrades confined in the Penitentiary of Isla de Pinar are forced to work in the swamps and the quarries surrounding the prison. Under such conditions our young and weak party is compelled to work, which, notwithstanding its relative numerical weakness is the

only party that can lead the Cuban masses to victory.

Organizing the Workers

To understand our problem the special characteristics and the social composition of the Cuban people must be taken into consideration. In Cuba, proportionately speaking, the proletariat is very small, and only in the big cities does it present a picture of cohesion and militancy in its economic struggles. The political struggles of the proletariat are only of recent origin (the C. P. was organized in 1925, but until 1929 had no influence on the working masses). The proletariat of the sugar factories, although it had participated in strikes since 1914, really embarked on its major struggle only during the years 1924-25 and after the fall of Machado. They are, in general, an unstable group. The sugar worker is engaged in industry only during three or four months of the year, the rest of the year he loafes and begs in the nearby towns. Agricultural peonage on the sugarcane and tobacco plantations, where work is generally spread throughout the year is of considerable scope. They work under terrible conditions. Notwithstanding their low cultural level and lack of class consciousness, however, they are amenable to organization as was proved in the four months of the Grau San Martin government when there was a certain modicum of democratic rights. The other determining factor in the social composition of Cuba is the petty bourgeoisie. But the Cuban petty bourgeoisie is different from their prototypes in other countries in that they have no economic base of their own. They are not rooted in small businesses, small industry and small property, but live exclusively as employees of the state. They can properly be termed as a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy.

Middle Class Parasite

The origin of this anomaly derives from the specific interests of American imperialism in Cuba. The chief industries (sugar, tobacco, transportation) belong to U. S. capital. Wholesale commerce belongs to the Spanish bourgeoisie. After the war of independence the Amer-

ican mediator, faithful to the policy of imperialist penetration impeded the rehabilitation of the Cuban petty-bourgeoisie, tricking them into dependence on the budget of the new born republic. Beginning with the government of Charles Magoon in the second intervention of the U. S., the national budget grew daily with the sole object of nourishing the growing petty-bourgeois bureaucracy. With the prosperity occasioned by the high price of sugar during the world war, everything went well, but the collapse of prices starting in 1921 caused a reduction of the budget despite the loans contracted in the North American markets to prevent such an expediency.

The effects of the crisis were felt most severely by the parasitical petty-bourgeoisie. Displaced from their bureaucratic positions they soon descended to the ranks of the degenerate lumpen-proletariat. At the crossroads of life and death, the most courageous nucleus took up the struggle and there arose a number of militant organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie. First of them was the ABC which began under Machado with a democratic program, arriving lately into an ideology of open fascism. After the fall of Grau San Martin, the Revolutionary Party of Cuba, which the latter led, appeared to express the desires of the petty-bourgeoisie, but the relative consolidation of the reactionary Mendieta and their little faith in the electoral process made this social stratum, in open desperation, seek as its only way out, insurrection. Then it turned toward the revolutionary organization, "Young Cuba", led by Antonio Gutierrez, secretary of interior in the Grau San Martin cabinet.

Gutierrez' Position

The organization "Young Cuba" is in essence an amalgamation of heterogeneous forces of the petty-bourgeoisie of all kinds; conservatives, centrists, lefts. Its program has as a basic point the "anti-imperialist" struggle and puts forward a broad reformist program in favor of the working masses. Gutierrez had a broader outlook than his followers. He had an internationalistic perspective for the Cuban revolution. In order to achieve this objective he intended to call a Continental Congress in Mexico of all the left parties and he expressed a great interest in inviting all the sections of the International Communist League on the American continent as he had communicated to our party.

But in the first days of this month Gutierrez was taken by surprise by the army, as he was embarking for Mexico, near the city of Matanzas. He was assassinated together with the Venezuelan colonel, Carlos Aponte.

The death of Antonio Gutierrez creates a different situation in the Cuban political scene. Our penetration in the ranks of "Young Cuba," the sympathy that its members feel for our party opens up good perspectives for our organization. The petty-bourgeoisie will not stop in its insurrectional intentions. For them it is a question of life and death; but here rises a brilliant opportunity for the proletarian party to show its abilities at leadership. On the other hand the terrible situation that confronts the Cuban proletariat will drag the petty-bourgeoisie into any insurrectional movement that may arise. If our party can mobilize its forces and put itself in the position of a vanguard, where its voice will be heard by the masses, then we can say that the revolution is saved.

But under the conditions that prevail works is very difficult. Our party lacks financial resources, cannot legally publish its press, cannot legally conduct any campaign to collect funds, and must therefore turn to the proletariat of other countries in requesting immediate help. This appeal is especially addressed to the North American proletariat with whom we are united through common bonds of exploitation.

Civilizing Ethiopia

The fascist leader, Il Duce, who found it unnecessary to hide his aims and methods when it was a matter of knifing the Italian proletariat, now employs the usual imperialist hypocrisy of carrying civilization to the conquered colony. Mussolini, enslaver of the entire Italian working class and the most hunger-stricken peasantry of Europe, will be the "Abraham Lincoln" of Ethiopia. He will "free" the large number of slaves held in bondage by the exploiting rulers of Abyssinia. He will "free" them from their present masters to place master and slave alike under the yoke of Italian capitalism. That is all that the bourgeoisie can carry to the colonies—a system of exploitation more intense, more cruel and costly in human life than any previous system. It is only the world proletariat that can bring real civilization to the colonies. When the workers throw off the yoke of capitalism at home, they will at the same time strike off the chains of the colonial peoples. The proletarian revolution will not only destroy the bourgeois exploiters at home, but will aid in the destruction of the colonial ruling classes, feudal or bourgeois. It is as much the task of the workers to accomplish the freedom of the colonial peoples as their own.

What to Attend

BROOKLYN
Dance and Watermelon Eating Contest
SATURDAY, JULY 13, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn
Friday, July 19, 8:00 P.M.—House Party and social for benefit of New Militant. 51 Morton Street (F. Norman). Auspices: East Side Branch No. 2, W. P. Admission 10c.

Beginning with the next issue all "What to Attend" notices must be in the hands of the Editor no later than Tuesday noon.

Old Guard Hammers Militants As N.C. of Socialist Party Meets

National "Militant" Caucus Breaks Up — Hoan and Thomas Backslide

(Continued from Page 1)

lowers of the N.E.C. (Incidentally, this N.E.C. committee has been boycotted by the Old Guard, who refuse to supply it with information, documents, facilities) and thereupon, as proof positive to all labor fakery and money-bags who might have some doubts about the respectability of the N.E.C., Hoan and Thomas launched a real campaign against the left wing workers in the party.

They passed a resolution making membership in the party incompatible with advocacy of "armed insurrection"; the Old Guard promptly used the resolution to expel revolutionary workers; and the net result of the year's struggle is that the Old Guard is more solidly in the saddle than ever before, and the only blows which have been delivered by the N.E.C. are blows to the left. Querulous complaints about the Old Guard, wordy statements about their crimes, but decisive action against the leftward-moving workers—this is Norman Thomas' record since the Detroit convention.

What, meanwhile, has happened to the New York Militants, under the leadership of Murray Baron and Jack Altman, and their allies, the "Chicago left," led by Maynard Krueger and Clarence Senior—these "revolutionary socialists," who came to the Detroit convention with a printed program (which they never brought to the floor). Despite their support of the shady ambiguities of the Declaration of Principles, the socialist militants had a splendid opportunity to crystallize a real left wing in the Socialist Party. The spectacle of the disloyalty of the Old Guard and the cowardice of the N.E.C. made it possible for the militants to secure a hearing from thousands of socialist workers. But the whole strategy of the Militant leaders led in an opposite direction.

"Cadre Builds Program"

A revolutionist says: "The program builds the cadre": hammer out your principles and win adherents by fighting for your principles.

The Militant leaders said: "The cadre builds the program": i. e., they, plus Thomas and Hoan, plus the trade union bureaucrats who, they hoped, could be induced to break with the Old Guard, plus anti-New York sentiment in the West and South, plus anyone who would come along for whatever reason—in short, a bloc having no other program than anti-New York, had to be maintained at any cost. This unprincipled line of the Militants could lead in only one direction: capitulation on every issue to Thomas and Hoan, who themselves have no principled differences with the Old Guard.

So far, indeed, has this surrender by the Militants gone, that on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, at which the retreat before the Old Guard will in all likelihood develop into a flat acceptance of the Old Guard on their own terms—on the eve of an open alliance between Hoan and the Old Guard, with Thomas "going along for the sake of unity"—the year's record of the Militants does not show a single instance of criticism of the N.E.C.

The Socialist Call, organ of the Militants, has only rarely criticized the Old Guard, and never said a word about the cowardly actions of the N.E.C. It has even suppressed the fact that the Old Guard has refused to invite or receive the N.E.C. for this week's meeting. Instead of coming out with a declaration that the Old Guard's report is the central issue before the N. E. C., the Socialist Call, after listing other points on the agenda, says that "it is expected" that the Old

Guard issue will "also" be discussed. Not a word about Thomas' blows to the left; on the contrary, after the last N.E.C. meeting made advocacy of "armed insurrection" incompatible with party membership, the Militant leaders went around explaining that this was a clever tactical move by Thomas, that it only applied to public statements by socialists to non-Socialists, and they tried to hide the fact that the Thomas decision applied to the socialist press, to socialist meetings, and to socialists anywhere and everywhere. Though Hoan revealed at the last N.E.C. meeting that he was getting ready to make a deal with the Old Guard, the Militants made no criticisms of him. In other words, on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, the Militants are completely identified in the eyes of the party rank and file with the N.E.C.

Instead of gaining ground by these tactics, the Militants have already lost considerably. Their so-called national caucus has disappeared: the "Chicago left," which revolved around the national office, has so completely identified itself with Hoan that its leader, Krueger, was attacked by left wing delegates at the recent Illinois convention; the "western Militants", around Andrew Biemiller, have found a resting place in the Milwaukee machine; the Massachusetts "left wing" has just held a harmony convention with the right wing.

Pessimism Among "Leaders"

Some Militants privately recognize this situation—but draw from it the conclusion that their weakness means they must still further submit to the N.E.C. To the argument that they should have built a broad caucus organization (they refused to do this because the Old Guard would seize upon it as "an issue"), with democratic election of steering committees, etc. (they refused this because it meant an open stand for a factional organization), with all decisions submitted for rank and file approval (they refused this because they didn't know what they would do the next day since they were tied to the chariot wheels of the N.E.C.), etc.—to all such arguments they mournfully answer: "Yes, we did wrong, but it's too late to change that now."

Too late! The pessimism of leaders, undoubtedly will affect part of their following, who will simply drop out of the party. And anyone who will not fight within his own party will not be recruited into another party; that is one of the lessons of 1921. No one will gain from such defeatism.

It is certainly not too late. The onward march of Fascism, the lessons of Germany, Austria and Spain, have smashed the complacency of thousands of socialist workers; and as they survey the new August 1914 being jointly prepared by the Second and Third Internationals in France, they are more ready to break with reformism than they have been for years. They want to fight the Old Guard but they don't know how.

The leftward-moving socialist workers have to learn that the way to fight is to fight on the basis of clear-cut principles. Let them seriously turn to an examination of the principles of the main currents in the labor movement, and they will find that the only revolutionary program is that of the Workers Party. In the Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party they will find their principled basis for the struggle against reformism and its centrist allies of today and tomorrow. On the basis of a program the cadres are built: that is the first lesson the socialist workers must learn.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

N. H., BIRMINGHAM.—Question: In the "Draft Program of the Communist International" Trotsky states that the Stalinists, by the theorem of "Socialism in One Country," adopt the same theoretical ground . . . of the Social Democratic theoreticians as a whole" except that "they turn the Social Democratic evaluation inside out". What does he mean by this?

Answer: Basing themselves upon the formula of Marx: "No Social formation disappears before all the productive forces have developed for which it has room," and applying it to a single state, the Social Democracy claimed, in their criticism of the Bolsheviks, that the latter had no historical right to seize power in Russia since that country did not have the material prerequisites for the construction of a Socialist society. To this the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, replied: while it is true that Russia, by itself, does not have the material requirements for the construction of a classless society, nevertheless, **WORLD capitalism as a whole** does have these material forces; the revolution in Russia, whose economy is part of world economy, took place because **WORLD capitalism** broke at its weakest link. Like the Social Democrats, the proponents of "Socialism in One Country" also act entirely aside the international perspective of Lenin, and merely counterpose to the assertion that the Soviet Union does not have the necessary material resources for the completion of a Socialist society the claim that the country does have such material forces. They therefore stand on the same theoretical ground as the Social Democracy in that they search for historical justification for the Russian revolution in the productive capacity of a single state.

D. J. B., LOS ANGELES.—Question: How can you expect the proletarians to manage a government when they cannot even manage themselves?

Answer: If one were to follow the logic of this reasoning, the capitalists would not be able to manage their state power. On the average, the members of the capitalist class, particularly today when they play practically no role in the productive process, are people of very ordinary intelligence, and, because of their mode of living, are for the most part too incompetent to even arrange for their own food and clothing. Nevertheless, they rule society through special organizations whose officers are their agents and who supply for a price of one sort or another, the ability needed to perform the necessary functions for the class rule. In other words, the ruling class has its work done for it by special representatives drawn from its own and other classes.

Despite the fact that there are certain qualitative differences, the same applies to the proletariat when it becomes the ruling class. It is true that there is much ignorance, illiteracy, etc., among the proletarian masses, a condition which capitalist exploitation has fostered and developed in order to maintain and perpetuate itself, a state of affairs requiring that the proletariat also set up its special organs of class domination. The revolutionary party thus becomes a necessity in order to rule for the working class as well as to seize the power in its name.

There is a fundamental historical difference, however, between the ruling apparatus of the proletariat and of the capitalist class. The organs through which the latter exerts its rule, for example, the banks, press, chambers of commerce, etc., develop along with the system itself, as component parts of it, and no special effort, no sacrifice, which lies outside of their money making routine is required by the capitalists, in order to build up the foundations of their rule. The party of the proletariat, however, does not evolve naturally out of the development of the class itself but must be built alongside of it. Such a party can be constructed only by those who are able and willing to exert the necessary effort and make the needed sacrifices.

APPLICATION REJECTED

The West Coast District Committee of the Workers Party has rejected the application of Lillian Monroe for membership in the Party. Evidences of complete collaboration with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the San Joaquin Valley and of a disregard for the political party in the field of union activity, coupled with an unreliability have conclusively proven that her membership is impossible.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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LECTURE

The Truth About "Trotskyism"

A REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM"

What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and—
—Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia?
—The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party?
—The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party?
—The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English

Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.

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"Progressive"

How history plays pranks on names and makes a mockery of shibboleths is strikingly revealed in a recent issue of the "Progressive Miner," organ of the Progressive Miners of America.

In it is reproduced an article by Eugene Talmadge, the governor of Georgia called the "Cruel Scarcity Policy" which is published under a picture of the Governor and the following note by the editors:

"The following from an article by the governor is charged, by some people, with being political propaganda, and by others with being an attempt to whitewash his labor record.

"We are not familiar with Gov. Talmadge's labor record, nor his intentions in writing this article; but we are absolutely sure that every word contained therein is absolutely true, and that the writer being a Democratic governor deserves a lot of credit for this clear-cut expose of the vicious un-Christian and un-American New Deal agricultural program."

Can it be that the editor of the Progressive Miner is really ignorant of the labor, or more correctly anti-labor, record of Talmadge of Georgia? Is he really unaware that the lowest textile wages in the country obtain in Georgia? Did he fail to see the headlines during the textile strike of 1934 which proclaimed Talmadge as the first governor to call out the militia against the mill workers? Doesn't he know that this southern bourbon bears the unenviable honor of being the first to introduce the Nazi concentration camp in the United States for the purpose of subduing and subjugating rebellious working men?

We can hardly believe it. Every suckling in the labor movement has marked the cross over this reactionary: labor enemy No. 1. The editor of the Progressive Miner, we are certain, is willfully closing his eyes and the eyes of his readers to the union-smashing policies of Talmadge. Opposition to militancy and left wing forces and tactics have driven the leaders of the P.M.A. into a loving embrace with the worst reactionaries in the country. They have, however, one thing in common: they pose as progressives until the issues become too hot.

And what does Talmadge say? First, a plagiarism of the facts long ago adduced in radical circles which marshall figures depicting cotton and live-stock destruction by the AAA and the consequent suffering caused by it. Then a good deal of specious reasoning which space does not permit us to deal with in this editorial. Finally, the conclusion printed in large, bold-face type:

"And the party in power should return to the principles of its founders and fulfill the promises of its platform to eliminate unnecessary and extravagant governmental bureaus and reduce the cost of government."

In short, Talmadge's is not one whit better than any die-hard Tory who speaks for the Chamber of Commerce.

At least this much should be elementary for a progressive. But the Progressive Miner thinks otherwise: "we are absolutely sure that every word (in Talmadge's article) is absolutely true. . ."

And they call themselves "progressive"! What's in a name!

Shall Ethiopia Perish?

(Continued from Page 1)

tion, in other words, it is now what it was originally intended to be.

From its very inception, the League of Nations was given a high credit rating by the acting and would-be socialist ministers of the world. No less powerful a pillar of the Second International than Arthur Henderson, the leader of the British Labor Party, adorned its sessions and set its tone. Now that the Italian imperialists are preparing the brutal rape of a far weaker foe, where are the spokesmen of the Second International, the Messrs. Henderson and Vandervelde and all their political kinfolk? What is their League of Nations doing, what does it intend to do, and what do they propose it shall do?

A year ago, the Stalinists drove the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. The self-admittedly beloved leader of the world proletariat, Stalin, told Walter Duranty that the League of Nations was at least a little bump in the road that would prevent war and help strengthen the "peace-loving" countries to preserve world order. What is the Stalin-Litvinov section of the League of Nations doing to defend the Ethiopian people from enslavement to the bastard descendants of the Roman emperors? Time was when the voice of the Soviet Union was heard in the most obscure hamlets

of the world, ringing with challenge against imperialist aggression, ever vigorously articulate in behalf of the oppressed and exploited peoples, of the hundreds of millions of brown and black and yellow serfs of imperialism. That voice is now stilled! The Stalinist press is filled with delirious joy when it reports that M. Maxim Litvinov is chairman of this or that session of the Council of the League of Nations. It has not yet reported that he has uttered a single vigorous note of protest against the infamous villanies of Mussolini—to say nothing of a criticism of that ally of Fascist Italy in the Ethiopian expedition, France, which is at the same time the ally of the Soviet Union.

Neither Kellogg nor Laval, Henderson nor Litvinov, can cover up the true and quintessential nature of the League of Nations. The "thieve's kitchen of Geneva" remains what it was: an association of imperialist bandits for the preservation of capitalist slavery throughout the world. "Any impromptu activity at Geneva is improbable," writes the New York Times. "The League is in the worst dilemma of its career and sees no way out. . . . Not only have the French and the British abandoned a humble fellow-member of the League to her fate, but the League itself is preparing to renew that policy of postponement and masterly inactivity that left China at Japan's mercy and the conflict in the Chaco to settle itself."

Notwithstanding, the case for Ethiopia is far from hopeless, and the prospects for the Fascist regime far from guaranteed. So far as the latter is concerned, it would be well for this murderous Bonapartist regime which seeks to solve its ever-increasing problems at home by foreign aggression, to remember Sedan, Port Arthur and . . . Sadowa. The senseless slaughter of the French masses in 1870 in the hopeless campaign of the little Napoleon to smash Germany led to the uprising of the Parisian masses and the establishment of the immortal Commune. The wanton destruction of tens of thousands of Russian peasants to satisfy the imperialist lust of a degenerate Czar was succeeded by the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905, just as Kerensky's adventures on the western front in 1917 was followed by the great Bolshevik revolution. The present lord of the Palazzo Chigi might well recall at this time the fate of his equally audacious predecessor, the prime minister Crispi, who fell from power and into disgrace when the streets of Italy were filled with embittered soldiers returned from the humiliating defeat of Sadowa and clamoring for the heads of the criminals who had sent them to die on foreign plains.

And when he thinks of Sadowa, let him remember also that this is 1935 and not 1894. Ethiopia is not weaker, but stronger. Even though it is matched against an army of far superior technical strength, its own forces have an infinitely higher morale. They are fighting for their own independence, for their national integrity. And no longer are they armed merely with primitive spears and knives. We do not refer here to the comparatively insignificant fact that the Ethiopians now have a few thousand rifles and some machine guns. They have at their command—if they will but summon them to their aid—the millions upon millions of other natives of the Dark Continent who have produced fabulous wealth for world imperialism. By themselves, the Ethiopians are no match against the Italian forces, backed as they are by the active or passive support of other imperialist powers.

But they have allies. Their allies are the Italian workers and peasants who are under the Fascist lash, but who await only the moment when their taskmasters have encountered such difficulties as will enable the masses to attack them from the rear. Their allies are the workers of the entire world, whose foe is their foe, who have cause to hate and harry imperialism with the same bitterness and vigor as their African brothers. Their allies are the African masses themselves. Before the first Italian shot is fired, the black and brown masses of the entire continent must be aroused in a sacred war against world imperialism and for their own liberation. When the Bantu in the south and the Berber in the north joins hands and masses rifle and spear with all the other imperialist slaves of Africa, then not only Italy, but France, and England, and Spain and Portugal—all the assassins and exploiters of the African peoples, will have cause to tremble for their empires and to regret the day they aroused the fettered titan.

Therein lies the hope of the Ethiopian people, on whose side we stand together with every honest and conscious working man and woman. Therein, further, is clearly implied our elementary duty. The Washington government has piously and impartially refused to furnish arms to "either side." It is, you see, neutral—that is, it will help neither the heavily armed butcher nor the virtually unarmed victim.

We are not "neutral." Heart and soul we are with the Ethiopian people in their defensive war against the Fascist invader. Heart and soul we are with the Italian masses who have languished for thirteen years in the great prison which the Fascist despots have erected, and from which they are now being conscripted to fight those with whom they have no quarrel, nor can have.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country, in every labor organization, let the voice of the American masses be heard in unmeasured condemnation of the cowardly Fascist butchers, in unmistakable solidarity with the courageous battlers against the enslavement of Ethiopia!

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism

The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarian Dictatorship and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

(Continued from last issue)

By A. J. MUSTE

First of all we may observe that while it is true that we do not have a Fascist regime in the U.S. and that it can only be misleading and silly to talk as if we did have, those who in these days are so vociferously proclaiming the joys of life under American democracy as contrasted with the repressions and horrors under "dictatorship whether Fascist or Communist," are unquestionably unrealistic and sentimental in their view of the United States. We know that the ordinary worker and farmer does not have this sense of perfect liberty and profound happiness. Millions of them are free—free to spend their youthful powers in a few years on the chain-gang in the production line in a mass-production factory; free to eke out an existence "in the midst of plenty" by means of a public works job at the Rooseveltian "security wage" of four to twelve dollars per week; free to organize, strike, picket, vote the ticket of their choice and so on, provided they do not mind being kicked out of a job, seeing their families suffer privation, getting dubbed over the head, thrown into jail, possibly shot in the back. Consider that the economic crisis has not reached any such proportions here as in many other countries, that there is here no such daily and hourly peril of invading armies as many nations have to face, that at the moment there is no force which can remotely threaten the continuance of the existing government. Then recall that every edition of every paper brings fresh stories of clubbing, gassing, jailing, shooting, murdering of men and women trying to assert the right to organize and bargain collectively in conservative trade unions. Then ask to what extent civil liberties are a reality, and not merely a traditions or a myth in "democratic" United States. Consider the economic, political and social disabilities under which millions of Negroes labor. Consider the plight of the Jews and of "foreigners" in a nation where economic tension is as yet a far distance from the breaking point.

Freedom and Fascism

It is, furthermore, a fallacy to suppose that we can retain the measure of freedom we now possess, if only we can maintain our economic system based on free enterprise and our political democracy against both Fascism and Communism. It is precisely the attempt to maintain the capitalist system which leads under modern conditions with fatal precision to the resort to Fascism. Capitalism itself, the present ruling class, will—unless the workers and their allies prevent—in the effort to maintain itself destroy every vestige, every pretense of democracy and civil rights, will appeal to the basest racial and national prejudices, will establish an open and brutal dictatorship. Why? Simply because the time when capitalism can maintain profits and at the same time make concessions to the workers, better the standard of living, is past. Now it maintains itself only by taking away even such concessions as it once gave. It must drive the standard of living even lower. But obviously if the masses have any freedom at all, any means for protest and self-expression, any workers or farmers union, party, press,—then no matter how peaceful, legal, respectable, meek they may be, they will at some point offer resistance. They will try to fight for mere existence. But this threatens the existence of capitalism. Therefore it wipes out "democracy", smashes every trade union, farmers' organization and political party, degrades the intellectuals, and bounds and destroys minority groups. It is not by maintaining capitalism that we can maintain democracy and escape dictatorship.

Those who declaim against "red terror" and present imposing lists of its victims and catalogues of its social and psychological effects need also to be reminded over and over again not only of the numerous instances of "white terror" and the abominable excesses of Fascism, but of that most colossal and obscene terror of all—war. War which in its modern form is the natural and inevitable by-product of capitalist-imperialist rivalries, which kills millions of its victims, itself abrogates all civil liberties and makes the individual the puppet of an absolutist state if indeed it does not destroy him of his reason altogether.

This is, however, only the negative side of the case. If we could indeed offer the workers, farmers and the professional and technical groups only a choice of terrors in the future, they could hardly be blamed for emulating Hamlet and clinging desperately to those ills they have under so-called democracy rather than flying to evils which they have not yet experienced. The revolutionary internationalist does offer a positive alternative to the masses—an enhance-

ment of well-being and of freedom.

The Workers' State

The Workers' State is a dictatorship. As Marxists we believe that and we do not attempt to conceal it. But it is important to understand the sense in which the term is here used, and Marxists have not always been too careful and accurate on this point. So long as there are classes, every government is in essence a dictatorship—of the ruling class over whatever other classes there may be. Whether at a given moment, however, this rule expresses itself as an open and avowed dictatorship, resorts to open and extensive terrorism, etc., depends upon whether this is necessary to the ruling class. The facts are clearly suggested in that sentence of our Declaration of Principles which says: "The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself."

The political expression of the proletarian dictatorship is the Soviet or Workers' State. Workers of all categories—industrial, agricultural, technical, clerical, professional—will be organized on a functional basis into Workers' Councils. Through the Councils functioning in a democratic manner, under the control of their membership, the workers will have a much more direct and simple way of sharing in the determination of the policies which affect their well-being than they have under the farcical electoral system which exists in the U. S. today. Furthermore, in a country with the resources and the technical equipment of the U. S. an immediate improvement of the standard of living and relief from insecurity could be provided if the capitalist brakes upon production were released, and this too would have the psychological effect of liberation on the masses now haunted by the spectre of insecurity and enslavement to fear.

Dealing with Enemies

It is true that parasites will be disfranchised in the Workers' State and that repressive measures will be used against those who conspire to overthrow the new regime and bring back the horrors of capitalism, unemployment, war—that is to say, those who want to abolish the dictatorship of the majority over the minority and bring back the dictatorship of the minority over the majority under which we now live. The extent and the character of these repressive measures, and the length of time during which they may be enforced, will depend primarily, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in revolutionary periods, upon the extent to which the new regime may be threatened with destruction from outside and upon the counter-revolutionary movements within. Life was not altogether peaceful and comfortable in the U. S. during and for some time after the Revolutionary War, nor in France during and after the Great French Revolution. It took four years of Civil War in these United States to smash the slaveholding aristocracy of the South, even after a president and congress representing a new class had been elected by parliamentary methods, and there was a considerable interruption of normal activities. It is thus that social change of a fundamental character is effected. The fact is not usually regarded as an argument for setting the clock back—if that could be done. And, in view of all that has been said, we are not among those who raise pious protests or shed crocodile tears when the Soviet Union takes whatever measures may be necessary against the class enemies, internal

July Issue of New International Out

The July issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press. The long awaited article by Trotsky on Thermidor and Bonapartism in relation to the Soviet Union is printed in full. In this article comrade Trotsky revises the previously confused conception implied by Thermidor and gives terminological correctness to the term. It is an extremely interesting study of historical contrasts between episodes transpiring today in the Soviet Union and those in the period of Thermidorian reaction during the great French Revolution.

A very timely and penetrating analysis of Centrism is contained in the article, "Centrist Alchemy or Marxism" which deals with the road toward the Fourth International and the centrist brakes applied thereto by the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. The fact that the S.A.P. has given lip-service to the idea of building a Fourth International and has done everything in its centrist nature to delay that process is here acidly exposed,

or external, of the Workers' State. [What causes us to protest and shudder—what constitutes indeed a tragic menace to the well-being of the masses in the modern world, to the entire future of humanity—is not the proletarian dictatorship, nor the mistakes and excesses which it may have committed, nor the dominant role of the revolutionary party in the Workers' State. So long as classes exist, government will be in essence dictatorship. Human beings are nowhere infallible. Without a disciplined, devoted, heroic party of the vanguard elements the accomplishment of the modern revolutionary task is inconceivable.

The crime of the Stalin regime is that it has abandoned and destroyed the organization principle on which the revolutionary party must be built and thus has corrupted the party and transformed the proletarian dictatorship into a caricature of workers' democracy. No greater crime than this can be committed for it means the corruption of those instrumentalities by which alone the masses can be liberated and a higher stage in human development achieved.

Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is the organization principle of the Leninist party. Precisely because there must be the severest discipline in action and because the Party takes upon itself the role of leadership of the workers in the greatest crises, its own inner life must be free, democratic, vigorous. The clearest, straightest Marxian thinking is required; but that involves the right of criticism; and that cannot exist where there is repression.

A healthy revolutionary party which is based on democratic centralism will seek to establish its leadership over the mass organizations of the workers whether before, during or after the revolution, not by cheap political trickery, not by forced and mechanical processes, not by clever yet futile attempts to "capture" organizations, but by what may be rightly characterized as democratic methods. It gains influence in the unions e.g. by the correctness of the policies which its members set forth, by the persuasiveness with which they argue for them, by their devotion to the day to day work of the organization, by the sacrificial and heroic role they are prepared to play in strikes and similar crises. It is in substantially the same manner that a revolutionary party with a democratic inner regime gains and maintains its influence over the mass organizations, the Soviets or Workers' Councils, once the workers and their allies have taken power.

Now a vanguard party of this character is constantly subject to check by the mass organizations. It must essentially and most of the time actually serve their needs or it will be rejected. On the other hand, it can afford, indeed it will ordinarily encourage a democratic life in, will seek to educate, the mass organizations because it is well aware that in the long run it is precisely as they are enlightened that the masses will follow them. Exploiters of the masses such as the capitalists today, will do all in their power to keep them ignorant and confused. A Leninist revolutionary party will do just the opposite. Thus our Declaration of Principles can assure the masses in the U. S. that the workers' state does not mean repression, the curtailment of democratic rights for them but, while it functions as a dictatorship against enemies who may want to restore capitalism, will assure and continually extend far more democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism.

Of domestic significance is the analysis of the recent Supreme Court decision with regard the NRA in an article by comrade Swaback entitled "The Passing of the NRA." Also, away from the international arena for the moment, is the critical exposition of the great Toledo strike by comrade A. J. Muste. An article on the coming struggles in railroads by A. Weaver concludes that portion of the magazine dealing with internal affairs in the country today.

Of special importance is the article by John West, "The Bands Are Playing," dealing with the question of war. The article deals primarily with slogans against war. And here comrade West takes up the ubiquitous slogans: Against War and Fascism and Defend the Soviet Union and dissects them to show the positive and negative features inherent in them—as bare slogans. An article on Greece, book reviews and excerpts from the international press conclude the contents of this issue.

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Bureaucratic Regime

By the same token, it is when bureaucracy gets the upper hand in the revolutionary party itself, when a reign of repression is established there, that corruption enters into the whole of the proletarian dictatorship: it becomes a caricature of the workers' democracy. This is the crime which the present Stalin regime has perpetrated. Party, democracy was crushed. The utterly un-Marxian conception of an absolutist party, a mystical something, standing above the working class, which could do no wrong, which needed no checks upon itself whatever, arose. In the final analysis this can only end in a personal dictatorship. That is what exists in the Third International and its parties today. But such a party, resting now upon an insecure and artificial basis, serving essentially not the working class but a bureaucracy, will crush out democracy also in the Soviets, the unions, etc.

The Stalin regime has been forced to an ever more vicious suppression of party democracy and workers' democracy, because its basic aim of building Socialism in one country is anti-Marxian and wrong. It had to attempt to crush all opposition among revolutionists both inside and outside the Soviet Union, because if the opposition had had any means of expression the emasculation of the Communist Parties throughout the world which was the inevitable result of this policy would not have been tolerated. On this, however, space does not permit us to dwell here.

We of the Workers Party who raised and raise no protest against necessary repressive acts of the Workers State against its class enemies, within and without, do raise our voices with all our might against the terrorism now being exercised in an intensified degree against revolutionists, against those who are for the Workers' State in the Soviet Union but who are political opponents of Stalin and his henchmen. We protest against these persecutions because this policy corrupts the revolutionary party itself and so undermines the Workers' State, which has been the beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. It, furthermore, casts discredit upon and corrupts the entire revolutionary movement throughout the world.

From our Leninist point of view we can also criticize, not the principle of repressive measures against class enemies, but the manner in which the principle is applied in the Soviet Union under the Stalin regime. A bureaucracy resting on an insecure foundation, maintaining itself more and more, therefore, on a basis of fear and physical force, cannot carry out such measures as the collectivization of agriculture, for example, and numerous other policies in a sound manner. It falls into entirely unnecessary excesses which give both the workers and their enemies a false conception of what the proletarian dictatorship really means.

Our Position

We of the Workers Party thus have the answer, as neither the hypocritical reactionary defenders of "American constitutional liberties," nor the liberals of various shades, nor the social-democrats, nor the Stalinists have, to the question of freedom in the modern world. The alternatives before the workers and farmers and before those artists and professionals who are concerned about freedom to create and express are not limited to Fascism and the corrupt version of the proletarian dictatorship which Stalin offers, and the sham democracy which obtains in some countries today under capitalism, but which cannot be maintained if capitalism remains. There is the other alternative of an uncorrupted and genuine workers' democracy under the leadership of a revolutionary party organized under the principle of democratic centralism and based upon revolutionary internationalism.

The road to genuine democracy is not away from, but back to Marxism and Leninism; not away from but back to revolutionary internationalism; not away from but through the proletarian dictatorship, i.e. workers' democracy. This is the road to which the masses oppressed in varying degrees under Fascism and capitalist "democracy" are directed by the parties of the Fourth International.

In pursuing this course we are also the sole effective champions of humanity, of any idealism worthy of the name in the modern world, and of world peace. For a social order in which human dignity can be maintained and not constantly trampled in the mire, in which the creative energies of mankind can express themselves and not be endlessly suppressed and thwarted, is possible only if capitalism is destroyed, and this deliverance can come only as the result of victory of the workers in a revolutionary struggle.